

3: Mirchuk S-4 (no date) 1949 RDI Ukraine RDI

The Ukrainian's tendency to idealise, is also expressed in his relation to the weaker sex which generally enjoys a position of superiority in Ukrainian society. In literature, too, the Ukrainian woman appears in such an idealised and spiritualised form that even her faults, her foibles, do not detract from her spiritual value, but serve rather to enhance her charm and attractiveness. 181 562

The sense for actual reality is almost completely suffocated by the enthusiasm of the soul for the world of the imagination, for the ideal. 19th century drama contains a goodly company of women with a positive attitude to life — national heroines like Marusja Bohuslavka, lovable girls, good and faithful to boredom like Natalie of Poltava, unhappy victims of male seduction like Shevchenko's Kateryna and finally, prophetesses with an air of tragedy like the Ukrainian Cassandra. We must not forget that, except for the last named, these old-fashioned plays are still popular with the Ukrainian public and are performed even to-day, times without number, with great success throughout Ukraine, in the towns as well as in the remotest villages. 181 562 536

Western systems of thought have always been founded on the personal consciousness of the individual. Beginning with Plato in ancient Greece philosophical speculation has always started from individual consciousness as the only evident reality which is disputed by no one, a process which is still more evident in modern philosophy from Descartes on. Fichte's system is based on the philosophy of the ego which elsewhere appears in philosophy as a complete entity, independent of all other features, a sovereign being, which, in the intellectual world, is usually the final foundation of a concrete reality. 812 ●

Here Ukrainians, in contrast to Russians, are decidedly western in outlook. Though they have not produced philosophic systems of their own based on the ego as the fundamental principle, or as the foundation of further speculation, nevertheless their whole intellectual life, their ethical standards and legal code, and still more their actual conduct, are all based on the individual; and to restrict the right of the individual even in the interests of the community, is always resented as an encroachment on the freedom of will. 812 156

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593 Love plays a great part in all spheres of life in Ukraine, though it is less connected with eroticism than in other countries; it is first and foremost the product or the accompaniment of the relation between mother and child. Maternal love, in all its possible manifestations, is one of the spiritual prisms through which most of the phenomena of public and private life are regarded and acquire their particular color. Love comprehends an enormous complex of motives which have found expression in literature, art and music.

● 812 I do not intend to dwell on the manifestations of this emotion in daily life. But I should like to refer to Jurkevych, one of the few Ukrainian philosophers in the 19th century who gave his countrymen what may be called a philosophy of the heart, a system ruthlessly opposed to the materialism at that time in vogue and also to the almost mechanical rationalism and intellectualism.

In analysing problems of contemporary philosophy, Jurkevych comes to the conclusion that a system of philosophy expressed in functions of the reason is quite incapable of including the entire and real human being. A certain modesty with regards to the limits of human knowledge is characteristic for Ukrainian philosophers. These limits are the result of the fact that human reason and its capacity of knowing the world hide another, more profound, function of the human spirit on which reason is based and which provides it with possibilities of development. This original function of the human spirit, which is fully acknowledged by Skovoroda but mentioned by I. T. Stavrovetskyj as early as the 17th century, is the human heart. The philosophy of the heart which Jurkevych has developed in his work on „The Heart and Its Importance for the Psychic Life of Man“ is the most characteristic feature of the transition from Platonism to recent philosophy; but it is directly opposed to Kant and his school.

I have deliberately dwelt on Jurkevych as a representative of Ukrainian philosophy, as his theory is doubtless influenced by certain characteristics typical for the Ukrainian view of life. One of Jurkevych's pupils, Vladimir Solowjev, later a famous Russian thinker, when writing of his teacher, rightly emphasises

the Ukrainian elements in his nature: "Jurkevych came from the Government of Poltava and was therefore a Ukrainian, a fact which left traces in his language and character."

Of course I do not mean to say that the Ukrainian does not fully appreciate the powers of thought, or that he is hostile towards them. On the contrary, the intellectual representatives of the Ukrainian people, such as Drahomaniv and his school, Lesja Ukrayinka, are loyal adherents of rationalism and Ivan Franko bears on his banner the proud motto "ratio vincit". But if we study these men more carefully, we come to the conclusion that their rationalist views are a concession to the spirit of the times and are perhaps more in the nature of a mask which hides the emotion they are loath to admit as the decisive factor in their psychic make-up.

The peculiar character of Ukrainian intellectual life emerges most distinctly from a comparison with the fundamental features of the German psyche: "The peculiar character of German thought", Paul Menzer says in his book on the character of the German spirit, "may be best studied in German philosophy — a belief in system is inherent in it, the view that it must be possible to classify all reality in a series of ideas". This naive belief in the omnipotence of the idea is most apparent in Christian Wolff who thinks it is possible to solve all questions of knowledge, action and feeling by means of the reason. The entire attitude to life is to be regulated by reason, all spontaneous decisions arrived at by impulse are forbidden. There can be no doubt that life, conceived thus, must atrophy, but we must admit the great sweep of such a systematic experiment. In practice, Wolff's philosophy evolved a pedantic training for Germans which, however, had its good effects as confirmed by no less a man than Kant in his famous praise of the spirit of thoroughness. If we construct the direct opposite to the characteristics of the German spirit described by Menzer, we get the Ukrainian way of thinking: in place of exaggerated systematisation a lack of all system often replaced by the intuition of genius which, unconsciously, builds up on feeling; no thoroughness, no pondering, and consequently restricted action, but, on the contrary, too great an expansion of the sphere of in-

● 812 interest and, at the same time, superficial work. The Ukrainian
153 does not treat problems in theory and practice from the point of
view of reason, but confronts reality with emotion, takes decision
on the spur of the moment and confuses theoretical and practical
issues.

157 In connection herewith I shall just touch on the third sphere
771 of psychological life, namely the will. Seeing that all three
181 functions, reason, feeling and will are closely dependent on each
812 other, the supremacy of the first or the second will necessarily
influence the third. A will that is under the control of feeling and
not of reason, will not be very strong, steadfast or consistent,
but, like the feelings, will fall from one extreme into the other
in a brief interval, so that periods of great, superhuman activity
and joy in work are followed by times of complete passivity
and the idleness of despair. The supremacy of feeling and the
predominance of love provide us with a further element in the
Ukrainian view of the world, namely the deep feeling for
religion which is the main component in all Slav spiritual life.
Many scholars of the last century emphasise the supremacy of
feeling and the all-important part played by religion as the main
characteristics of the spiritual life not only of modern Slavs, but
also of their ancestors, whether remote or recent. Attempts have
been made to differentiate the historical peculiarity of the Slavs
from that of the Romance peoples, in particular from the French
and the Germanic nations. Compared with the political French
and the philosophical Teutons, the Slavs are, in the widest
sense, the religious race.

Quite apart from our opinion of this characteristic, it must
not be forgotten that all leading Slavs, whether Poles, Czechs,
Ukrainians or Russians, whether philosophers, authors or artists,
display an undoubted, if varied religiousness. Even revolutionaries
like Bakunin, Herzen and others, though they rejected all
belief at the start, were none the less deeply religious men and
their fantastic fight against religion was but a negative expression
of religious feeling. Atheism in Russia is the expression of
an unsatisfied passion for belief, of a passion that refuses to let

itself be put off with inadequate creeds, and that, in despair, 157
denies God Himself. 771

In spite of this general, common background, expressions of 181
religious feeling in the various Slavonic tribes differ greatly. The 812 ●
Ukrainian is never orthodox in his religious life; he does not
cling at all to forms, to externals; rather does he endeavour
always to comprehend the essence of a creed or belief. All
who have studied the character of the Ukrainian people even
superficially must admit that a religious quarrel or still more,
a bitter strife over ritual forms such as has become a plague
with Russians is quite impossible among Ukrainians. Ukrainian
history provides us with interesting and instructive examples of
this. When the Kyiv State became Christian and accepted the
Byzantine form of the Christian Church, being thereby auto-
matically drawn into the whirlpool of religious strife, the Grand
Prince deliberately sought to avoid all dogmatic quarrels and
to keep contact with the West, even though he was a member
of the Eastern Church and shared in Eastern culture. Uncon-
cerned with the subtleties of dogma, which did not interest Kyiv
princes though their church depended on Constantinople, they
nevertheless sent ambassadors to the German emperors and to
Popes, received delegates from the West and showered gifts
on them; they formed family unions with Catholic princes and
rulers — in a word, began to smooth the way of mediation be-
tween Western and Eastern Europe, a rôle which Ukraine was
later to assume. It is true that fierce wars of religion were
waged in Ukraine as elsewhere in the 16th and 17th centuries.
But here the strife between adherents of the Orthodox Church
and Unionists represented in reality the gigantic struggle be-
tween two views of the world — the Eastern conservative view
and the Western, more progressive one, a struggle which, in
addition to religion, comprehended many other factors, such
as national feeling and political and cultural standards. At pre-
sent, too, when Ukrainians must live together under most
trying circumstances, church differences scarcely come into play.
As a result of his over-individual nature, the Ukrainian is all
too ready to utilise every opportunity of arguing with his
opponent, but religious feeling is too deeply rooted and com-

157 pels too much respect for the opinion of others for him to make
771 diverging beliefs an object of strife. Skovoroda, the Ukrainian
181 Socrates, whose spiritual life reflects all the characteristics of
● 812 the national psyche of the Ukrainian people, expresses his attitude to religious things in a very simple formula, which is perhaps too simple for a philosopher: "Pagan temples and idols were also expressions of Christian belief, being inscribed as they were with the wise, sacred words: gnoti seauton, nosce te ipsum".

According to Skovoroda, God did not reveal His truth to Christians and Hebrews alone, but also to pagans, just as morality cannot be regarded as the monopoly of the Christian world, seeing that it has many eminent champions among the nations of the ancient world. In the province of religion the Ukrainian demands universality, respect for every genuine religious feeling, tolerance of the convictions of others, but not orthodoxy and not the forfeiture of valuable content for the sake of mere form.

181 The Ukrainian view of the world is characterised by an optimism founded on metaphysics and ethics. In spite of the overwhelming catastrophes that have constantly shaken the historical existence of the people to its foundations, in spite of the terrible persecutions to which the heart of the nation, its peasantry, has been exposed for centuries, hope of a better future was never dead, and indeed it rose afresh at the very time when, judged by objective standards, there were practically no prospects of improvement. And yet — in defiance of all foes — the Ukrainian people will and must live and fulfil its destined mission, the motto to which all leading spirits have always sworn allegiance. Of course, Ukrainian public opinion, especially in the higher classes, has also displayed depression caused by temporary circumstances; but though the situation was often extremely critical, Ukrainian history has no proper example of general dissolution, of complete and extensive despair. On the contrary, it is characteristic of Ukrainian mentality to regard the world and its phenomena from the best side and to trust in a favorable issue of all processes. "We'll get along somehow" is the expression, not only of mental balance, of a determination to keep a stiff upper lip, but is at the same time an unmistakable sign

of a feeling of confidence, no matter how circumstances may change 181
812 ●

If we seek the origin of this apparently irrational optimism, we come to the conclusion that its roots lie in prehistoric times and that its motives have been preserved in folklore, tales and fables. The study of extensive Ukrainian material proves conclusively that the belief in the victory of good over evil is part and parcel of the people's faith. The world is ruled by the principle of good; evil, and its personification, the devil, are by no means equal to good and do not have an independent existence of their own. 776
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Without going into details, we can make the general assertion that in Ukraine the devil is no powerful god who finds satisfaction in the sea of troubles that overwhelms man; his power does not equal that of the good spirit; in the realm of evil he is not supreme over subordinate demons — he is a petty spirit who, by exploiting the weaknesses of God and man, seeks to make unpleasantness for both.

The devil cannot have the mastery over a human being during the latter's life, even if he has promised him his soul. It is fairly easy to summon the devil in order to enter into a contract with him. In drawing up the articles of such a contract, the devil does not display any special intelligence, or even intellectual superiority over his human partner. The Evil One not infrequently gets the worst of a bargain with a simple peasant; he puts himself to no end of trouble in order to get money and honor for man before death, but after he is dead, man always finds a loop-hole in the contract through which he can slip and land happily in Paradise. 776

Thus we see that, for the Ukrainian, far from being an imposing figure, the devil degenerates into something comical and, at times, even pitiable, a being to be exploited or made a fool of by man. In the eternal struggle which it is man's fate to conduct against evil, man is far superior to the devil.

Maksimov assures us that the belief in an unlimited number of evil spirits is firmly rooted in the consciousness of the Great Russian. He believes that there are scarcely any places in the

776 world free from them, that they do not even respect Russian churches. As unsubstantial beings who can, however, appear in various familiar guises to man, these servants of the Evil One do not only dwell in places forsaken by God, in bottomless moors and the depths of forests: they are just as much at home in human habitations and even penetrate into the human organism. We may see proof of this belief in the fact that all containers of drinking-water in Russian peasant houses have got some kind of lid, be it ever so primitive. If it is impossible to get a lid, two sticks are laid cross-wise on the vessel so as to prevent the devil from getting into the water. Similarly, we can scarcely find a peasant who, in spite of innate carelessness and dreaminess, will forget to make the sign of the Cross over his mouth when yawning, so as to keep the Evil One from entering into his organism.

000 On the basis of material at our disposal dealing with the rôle of the devil among Eastern Slavs, we may safely assert that among Ukrainians, as among the peoples of Western Europe, the demonic has lost something of its mystery, originality and power while, in the life of the Great Russian, evil may not be on the same level as good, but it has nevertheless managed to preserve a fairly strong position. Russian dualism, predominant in folk-lore and expressed in the struggle between the Divine Power and the Evil One points plainly to analogy with the dualist beliefs of Oriental religions. Mazdeism in particular, the creed of aryan Iran is decidedly dualistic in character, being constructed on the contrasts between light and darkness, good and evil, salvation and destruction, as they appear in the psychical and moral world. These contrasts can be traced to two gods who are equal in power and who are constantly engaged in strife. Ahriman characterises the cause of the strife and the mutual enmity of these two powers as the ethical devil; for a moral sin, envy of Ormuzd causes Ahriman to conceive the idea of destroying his creations.

771 It is just here, in the province of ethics, that the difference in the conceptions of good and evil which we have
● 812 already noticed in the national beliefs of Russians and Ukrainians, becomes strikingly apparent. For the Ukrainian evil

is, so to speak, the result of teleological conditions. It is in the world not because there is any justification for its existence in itself, and not as a power against which we struggle in vain; evil exists because we need it, because without contrast to it, good could never be brought into the right light. It is not only the evil in us, but the evil around us that seems to be the essential complement of good; the power of good grows in the struggle with evil; injustice furthers the feeling for justice, falsehood and cowardice the feeling for truth, while selfishness calls forth magnanimity. Metaphorically speaking, the devil is for the Ukrainian by no means an almost divine power, inspiring man with inexpressible terror, but a being that draws the poor sinner's attention to his sins, frightens him a little and so shows him the way to improvement and perfection. This belief has produced a thoroughly optimistic view of the world which has found striking and eminent expression in literature.

For the Great Russian, evil is a dreadful power, not a necessary attribute of good but a principle of equal value that can attract disciples and inspire them with enthusiasm. One does not commit evil from carelessness, but from conviction, for the sake of evil, because evil has the same foundation and justification in human nature as good.

This idea of evil has naturally found artistic expression in literature and its main representatives in Russian literature are Dostojevskij and Tolstoi. Tolstoi rejected all positive religion and formed his own view of the world which is characterised by perfect passivity quite opposed to combating evil. His principle of "non-resistance" to evil which he erroneously tries to derive from Christ's original teaching is really anchored in his thoroughly Russian soul and is certainly the unconscious expression of the general Russian belief in the invincibility and omnipotence of evil.

Tolstoi deliberately twists Christ's teaching and attempts to set it up against the Old Testament idea of vengeance and retribution, though there is no justification for this at all. We know that Christ did not come to destroy the law of the prophets but to fulfil it.

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the more active elements from maintaining their collaboration ¹⁸⁶ with Germany. Few, if any, could foresee that Germany would actually allow the Soviet Union to absorb the West Ukrainian lands.

Perhaps of all Ukrainian nationalist movements the least pre-^{162*}pared to cope with the startling changes which took place after August, 1939, was that of Paul Skoropads'kyi. As was previously indicated, this movement had never been strong numerically, even in its days of dominance in the Ukraine. In emigration it was further weakened by the fact that many of its original followers had really been adherents of the Russian monarchy at heart, and saw little advantage in supporting a Ukrainian "monarch" unless he was the only ruler available. It is true that, following these defections, the Het'man and his remaining followers had become much more nationalist in their outlook; it was, however, scarcely possible for them to compete with the OUN in this respect, and they lacked the prestige of the UNR, which could claim lineal descent from those who had first endeavored to realize the dream of a modern Ukrainian state. With the exception of a small group in Great Britain, the bulk of Skoropads'kyi's émigré followers were organized in the Ukraïns'ka Hromada (Ukrainian Community) in Greater Germany, where they claimed some 3,500 members in 1940.¹ Most were middle-aged or older.

What the Het'manites lacked in numerical strength and youthful vigor they had in part made up through the prestige of their adherents. Foremost among these, until his death in 1931, was ^[212] Viacheslav Lypyns'kyi, a talented historian and philosopher who is widely acknowledged to have been the most original and profound Ukrainian thinker of the post-1918 era. In the period now under consideration, his influence in the Hromada was continued by a group of able historians headed by Dmytro Doroshenko. The official ideology of the movement was a compromise between the

¹ See the first issue of *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'*, November 15, 1940, p. 1, the organ of the Het'man group. For a succinct but generally accurate and penetrating summary of the position of this and other Ukrainian groups in mid-1941, see a memorandum from the files of the Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebiete, Occ E-4 (5), in Yiddish Scientific Institute (hereafter referred to as Occ E-4 [5]). Since the signature is illegible, I have not been able to determine the name of the author of this memorandum.